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## MEMORANDUM

The process which has been taking place in Eastern Europe since the year 1945 does not stem from the internal situation in the individual countries but is part of the struggle for world domination carried on by the Russian Communist movement from the very beginning of its existence. So too, the February events which took place in 1948 in Czechoslovakia were part of this plan.

The Russian Communist movement correctly gauges the over-all tendency of European development, which tends to the form of socialism which would retain the principles of human rights and a democratic way of life. Hitler was also fully aware of this, and in the era of preparations and popularity of his movement in Germany, he made use of the term and of certain postulates of socialism in order to seduce public opinion in his country. So too the Communist movement makes use of this desire for progress which aims at the structural change of society into a socialistic order. It takes possession of the ideologies of socialism, democracy, and nationalism, twists and distorts them, and arranges them for its imperialistic uses.

That is why international Communism must, first of all, settle with the movement which traditionally represents the ideas of socialism and democracy and preserves all the values of permanent European culture and which does not yearn for world domination but for the just arrangement of human society. This is the only way in which we can interpret the fact that the primary attack of the Communists is directed against social democracy and the labor movement and not against capitalism, Fascism, etc.

That is why, in the struggle going on in Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Social Democracy has become the prime victim. As far back as 1945, in Moscow, and even during the war, a carefully considered decision concerning such tactics was taken. This is very evident from the fact that personalities who were not democrats and who had never been people of consequence in the Social Democrat movement were presented as leaders to the Social Democrats at home. These people had only one prerogative: they had bound themselves to use the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party as the central camp in which to gather those who were allergic to

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Communism. This is confirmed by the statement made in Moscow by the former [redacted] that the Social Democratic party should enable those persons unwilling to join the Communist party to concentrate within its own ranks.

People of this caliber were the ones who, as early as 1945, delivered up to the Communists all the key positions of the party, i.e. the liquidation of the Social Democratic party in Slovakia, the Trade Unions movement, the cooperative movement, the Youth organizations, the Workmen's Gymnastic Association, cooperative banking, etc. All this took place contrary to the will of the members, and as soon as the realization of this treachery penetrated, it led to the Brno conference and to the defeat there [redacted]

In February, the duly elected Social Democratic party organs carried a resolution in which they did not agree with the course taken by the Communist party and as a direct result of this the Communist party decided to supplant the foremost members of the Social Democratic party with the defeated traitors, using the police and their armed party guards to enforce their will. From this moment, after violence came to the fore, decisions of the superimposed party organs could not be considered valid. This is confirmed by the fact that the decision to merge with the Communist party was respected and obeyed by only 20 percent of the members, many of whom complied under terror.

Today the Provisional Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia speaks in behalf of the 80 percent of the members who did not bow to the dictates of the imposters.

It is evident that the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party did not disappear from the national and international political field either as an organized whole or as a great creative force of a new social order. The spiritual fulfillment, i.e., democratic socialism enriched by [redacted] remains unrealized and that is why the presupposition of the continued life of the party as an instrument for the attainment of these ideals has not vanished. The party continues to be part of the great world movement of democratic socialism whose ideals it has never deserted.

In this phase of the struggle, which the Czechoslovak Social Democratic party has waged for seventy years, it now takes this stand:

The party rightly considers its members to be the flower of the fighters for socialism and democracy. That is why the fight for the final realization of a democratic as well as a socialistic society will continue unwaveringly; obstacles will be overcome; the enemy will be routed. The great army of faithful followers of democracy and socialism, humanity, European culture and freedom cannot be permanently set aside by any force whatsoever and will finally be victorious.

We are not alone in our struggle. At home the overwhelming majority of the people are filled with the same determination as we are, and the present violence, want, and slavery only tend to multiply our ranks. When the crucial moment arrives, this force will be decisive and we can rightly depend upon it.

There are strong forces in the world aiming towards the same goal and in numerous and mighty states they have reached a leading position by the decision of the majority.

We foresee our national security in the great organization of a United States of Europe. The creation of a bloc of individual states necessarily leads to economic conflict and finally to political enmity and war. That is why today we are directing our efforts toward the creation of a great family of European nations led by the idea of economic cooperation, organized in a large democratic unit, freed from mutual distrust in the hope that the natural evolution will lead to a socialistic society.

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25X1 In the event [ ] places its valuable experience and capabilities at the disposal of the new entity, we firmly believe that it is possible to organize Europe into a unified political and economic whole, preserving meanwhile the cultural values of the individual nations.

Only such an entity will be capable of guaranteeing that the United States will not be forced to send its best sons to die in Europe to preserve the human ideals every twenty years.

We recognize the fact that the current post-February state of affairs disgraced the idea of socialism in the eyes of our people. Many of them will live in fear and terror of it. However, that is not the fault of socialism but the result of its abuse and the planned confusion of conceptions. Socialism is not totalitarianism, nor violence, nor want, nor slave labor, nor hate and fear; it is not cultural decadence. The opposite is true. That is why today, as our chief endeavour, we are directing our efforts to proving that the current state of affairs has very little in common with socialism.

Our road to socialism is democracy, our means parliamentarism. To carry out our ideas we do not wish to use the machine-guns of totalitarianism and dictatorship but the patient means of discussion and argumentation and the will of the majority of the people. That is why we shall seek our political allies among the progressive sections of the nation, whose forces must not remain shattered. We shall attempt an organic unit of socialism and in this we are depending on the political wisdom of our people.

Even today we are planning our course in the above-mentioned direction at home and abroad. Simultaneously we announce that the leadership of the party is here at home, that all fundamental decisions on tactics and activity will be directed from the home front and that our representation abroad, where circumstances permit freedom of expression, is an organic part of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic movement. We shall issue directives to this representation of ours, receive its reports and suggestions, and confer with it on future action.

Within the sphere of socialism, in the economic field, we remain of the opinion that when the evolution of the socialistic society is complete, all means of production should be in the hands of the public, in one form or another. The time when it shall take place in the individual sectors must be decided, according to our conviction, only on the basis of the productive capacity of each particular branch and never on the basis of sheer political strength or by virtue of might.

Democratic socialism has as the ultimate means for this decision a parliament duly elected according to democratic principles. The motives which will lead us in the future in carrying out the program of socialization will be in harmony with the will of the majority of the people, its freedom, and its humanity.

We are conscious of the fact that the most difficult problem of socialism is the agricultural question. This is a sphere of production which is closely joined to the personality of the landowner and to his individual capabilities. This is the place for patience, competition with a better and proved example. However, the reactionaries must not abuse the farmer's desire for his own property, and we shall endeavour to arrange matters in such a way that the farmer will become the socialist's friend and that his elemental individualism will be evaluated for the benefit of the whole.

One of our basic principles is respect for the individual and his form of expression in the field of art, but also elsewhere in production. However, individualism must never become an instrument against general progress.

From the viewpoint of the nation, in the stormy events to come, the center of activity is the home front.

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In contrast to the First and Second World War situations, our enemy is not the foreigner who must be defeated abroad. In this conflict our enemy is just as much the reactionary effort against progress as expressed in Fascism as the [redacted]

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The next world upheaval must solve, first of all, the social problem of Europe and consequently also that of the rest of the world. In the future, perhaps the very near future, the problem will be to concentrate in each nation the greatest forces of progress, freedom, and democracy. That is also our problem, and in it we perceive our historical mission first of all at home as well as abroad. Therefore, all our activity will aim at the creation of a mighty progressive and democratic force which will be capable of winning the fight and later of conducting the affairs of state.

We would like to have the members of the Czechoslovak ideas. Our intent is not to insist that our representatives abroad over-emphasize their party interests. On the contrary, we prefer such a solution as will preserve the given direction (sic). However, we shall never consent to the formation abroad of a political group, as exemplified in the First and Second Resistance Movements, which would contain Czechoslovak reactionaries and which would attempt to direct affairs of state. Too much is at stake, and we attach too much importance to the future orderliness and calmness of our national life to be willing to risk a new social struggle. We openly declare, and we are informing our representatives abroad accordingly, that those Social Democrats who disobey this directive cannot count upon our consent or support, nor will they attain any importance at home in the future.

We have given most careful consideration to the choice of a leading personality abroad. We are aware that the present split is an error. The result of our conferences is the decision that the leader of the trend which we exemplify

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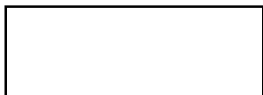
[redacted] His is a personality which embodies the [redacted] tradition, is a guarantee of democracy and socialism and, above all, morally satisfies the most exacting criteria. [redacted] is also a guarantee to us that the preparation of our affairs abroad will go hand in hand with the evolution at home and that there will be no attempt to organize our future political life on the principles of guild or class.

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The Provisional Executive Committee  
of the  
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party  
in Prague

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